

# CELEBRATING THE SIGN OF NATIONAL UNITY



Being deeply engaged in the struggle for fulfilling the national ideal, generation after generation of fine artists has bequeathed on Romania's history a heritage of works meant to bear witness as to the fertile relationship between the artist and the society to which he belongs. Exemplary in this respect is the case of modern Romanian painting: Nicolae Grigorescu, so ably represented from the current of the city, concerned especially with the subtle alchemy of colours and light, an innovative artist belonging to the avant-garde of the time, Impressionism. On the outbreak of the independence war in 1877, side by side with a large group of painters representing all major artistic trends of the time, Nicolae Grigorescu left for the front, becoming the great artist-reporter of the popular wars which led Romania to winning its independence.

This resonance in the great events in the national history has become a tradition of the Romanian fine arts, mobilizing under the sign of a not only all creative energies. Certainly, the artist's contribution to the life of the city is not the exclusive prerogative of Romanian art. It is given the specific historical conditions in which the struggle for freedom, independence and unity was waged by the Romanian people in a close communion with its struggle for social justice, one can say that there have been few cases in which the artist's participation has had a more explicit popular, democratic commitment.

Being aware that he voices a unanimously shared feeling, the artist found the most direct way of expressing this, trying to reach with his universal message to the core of everyone's consciousness.

On the 70th foundation anniversary of the unitary Romanian national state, as a homage paid to the Romanian committed art, we present one of the works devoted to the struggle for achieving this lofty ideal.

The photos feature: "Inscription on the Door" by Eugen Popa (1-51); "Biblical the Brave's Entry into Alta Italia" (below), marking the achievement of the first union of the Romanian Lands (1859) by D. Stănescu.

"The Union Hora al Craiova" (bottom, right) celebrating the union of the Romanian principalities of Valachia and Moldavia, (1859) by Th. Aman; "The Artist on Struggle" (bottom, left) during the Independence War (1877) by N. Grigorescu.



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## JOINT MEETING OF THE PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE ROMANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY, OF DEMOCRATIC BODIES AND MASS AND PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS

### NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU'S EXPOSITION

ON  
THE CURRENT STAGE OF ROMANIAN SOCIALIST SOCIETY AND THE PROSPECTS OF ITS FUTURE DEVELOPMENT, THE IMPROVEMENT OF SOCIOECONOMIC MANAGEMENT, THE DEVELOPMENT OF REVOLUTIONARY WORKER DEMOCRACY; THE ROLE OF THE STATE AND OF DEMOCRATIC BODIES. THE GROWING ROLE OF THE ROMANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY AND IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL-EDUCATIVE ACTIVITY, THE RISING LEVEL OF SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE, CULTURE, OF REVOLUTIONARY CONSCIOUSNESS. THE RATIO OF FORCES AND THE FUNDAMENTAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

(PAGES 3-14)



## HOMAGE TO THE GREAT UNION



1918-1988

A BIG CIVIC RALLY DEVOTED TO THE ANNIVERSARY OF 70 YEARS SINCE THE FOUNDATION OF THE UNITARY ROMANIAN NATIONAL STATE TOOK PLACE IN THE CAPITAL'S REPUBLIC SQUARE ON WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 30. PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU MADE A BRIEF SPEECH BEFORE THE OVER 120,000 CITIZENS WHO HAD COME FROM ALL THE COUNTRY'S COUNTIES AND FROM BUCHAREST MUNICIPALITY TO MARK SEVEN DECADES SINCE THE GREAT UNION OF 1918.

(see page 16)

In the presence of the General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceaușescu, the works of the eighth session of the ninth legislative term of the Grand National Assembly were opened on Thursday, December 1. Under debate are important documents regarding Romania's socioeconomic development in the fourth year of the current five-year plan period.

## SESSION OF THE GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

The plans, as well as the state budget for next year, which are being debated by the Grand National Assembly, ensure continued development of the productive forces, at a steady pace, the occupation of international growth in all spheres of the economy, the strong assertion of the new technological revolution and of the new scientific revolution, the increase of the national income, the permanent rise of the entire people's material and spiritual welfare (see page 15).











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Dear comrades,

In the endro actively we set out from the fact that the implementation of the general objective laws, of the principles of socialism differs from country to country, from socioeconomic development stage to socioeconomic development stage. The Report submitted to the Ninth

## 1. The Historic Achievements Scored by the Romanian People in the Country's Economic and Social Development

is necessary to make an overall survey of the road we have covered, of our achievements, of the current stage of Romania's socialist development, in order to set our future goals.

**Congress stressed: "Marxism is a live**

transformations and remarkable achievements in all domains, which fully confirmed the correctness of our Party's outlook on the implementation of general laws, of socialist principles in accord with the realities and conditions in Romania.

The powerful development of socialism in the USSR has ensured the continual increase of the working personnel in other actively seeking it. Not of a total economically active population of 11 million, some eight mil-

**Hear comrades,**

recovery development, that we cannot con-  
sume everything and that we must rely on

The socialist society completely abolished exploitation, the oppressing of man by man.

The aim of all economic and social activities in our socialist society is the general increase of the national wealth.

In the development of the forces of

Dear comrades, | participation in the management of

Looking now to the future, we need to draw all our conclusions, both from what is good and from what is bad, from the characteristics that were or still are, and work most responsibly to bring about the most complete and rapid realization of the goals set for economic and social development, for taking our homeland to socialism.

Dear \_\_\_\_\_

Please help me to figure out the plan for this year.

We need to work more firmly in order to bring about the complete victory of all sections of active

**VI. SOCIALISM**

# THE COUNTRY'S SOCIOECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE NEXT DECADE

Dear comrades,

unimproved "facies" of civilization in  
five phases in the building of the multi-  
laterally developed socialist society in our

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and conservation of the environment, of forests, of waters — a prerequisite for our humankind's growth.

With this as a basis let us revivify the need for the program for the implementation of the programme of development of agriculture, of the new agrarian revolution.

The forming and stable area of our country will remain the same as in the on-going five-year plan. It is the same. There is no possibility of extending it, as we must keep the forests, the forest estate intact. Moreover we will have in afforest several tens of thousands of hectares, non-productive, laid in some counties. In keeping with the national programme.

It is therefore necessary to secure the best fulfillment of the project on the irrigation of some 6-7 trillion ha, to achieve the maximum use of the water, to increase the productive yield of the soil on another 3 or 4 million ha.

Starting from the programme adopted, from the principles of self-management, self-administration and self-financing, we must take into account the financial and financial relations so that each unit may be fully self-financed, and a balanced monetary circulation be ensured, in line with the development level of the national economy and the needs of social activity programmes, through the introduction of new, modern repayment systems apt to bring money circulation down to the level of the national economy.

The responsibility of the financial bodies should be increased, financial control strengthened in all fields, credit systems improved and new measures taken in the credit sphere.

In recent years we have substantially cut the interest on credit for various areas of activity. Facts showed we did the right thing.

And so we will have to take first steps against extra credits or the covering of losses resulting from the poor work

We should undertake to augment, in national economic exchange by 35-40 per cent under the next five-year plan and by about 80 per cent until the year 2000 as compared to the current five-year plan level.

By curbing off its foreign debt, Romania would greatly enlarge level in important economic ventures and, in addition, be an active participant in the building of a new world economic and financial system, accorded no full rights and equality, on mutual advantage.

Dear comrades,

This country's active population currently shanks at about 11 million. Of the overall active workforce, more than 11 million work in the socialist sectors.

The powerful development of the productive forces, of industry, agriculture, science, culture and other activities has created new jobs and provided for the workers' employment in production every year.

In future too we shall grant permanent attention to providing jobs to all able-bodied citizens and to employing youth as well.

Our socialist society is a society of free work and it has the obligation to provide work to all citizens. Irrespective of the improvement and modernization of production, of the growth of labour productivity, ensuring jobs to all citizens is the basic obligation of our socialist society.

I wish to stress that electronics, automation should be used to bolster organization and management, to make work easier for people, to move them from productive activities, to push them to the periphery of society, to make them unemployed.

Therefore, activity as a whole must be so organized as to give ever better living and working conditions to all citizens through automation and electrification, as well as not be aimed at higher salaries, and in the case in the capitalist countries, it should not deprive people of their fundamental right to work, it is in this that resides the real revolutionary humanism which means to give everything for man; for the welfare and happiness of the people.

In improving the socialist incentives and remuneration system in all spheres of activity, we have started from the basic principles of pay according to the work done, from the socialist principle: neither more, without work nor without bread.

We consider that in our socialist society, without working, earn money by exploiting or exploiting others' work, oppression, profiteering and parasitism are not allowed.

The current system of incentives and remuneration by stages, classes and rates, on the basis of exams, certificates, diplomas, and other socialist incentives for conscientious and diligent work, for professional and technical knowledge.

We have a just ratio between different branches of activity and between large and small incomes. According to the principles of socialist distribution, the current ratio between the highest and the highest remuneration is 1 to 1.7.

We shall have to improve this ratio so that in the next quinquennium and perhaps throughout the decade we will ensure a 1 to 1.5 ratio between the lowest and the highest pay.

We must permanently have in view that the increase of remuneration for the working people's means should be closely connected with the development of the forces of production, with the increase in productivity. In the technology of a qualitative level of production we must ensure a continuous rise in the people's standard of living and that the average of our country may with the fresh impetus of the economic potential of socialist society.

An important role in raising the standard is played by the social benefits which have increased continually since the 1930s. The more particularly after the Ninth Party Congress in 1952, 15,800 tel per family (the year 1952) 3,800 tel in 1955.

We must go to it that the agreement, compensation, social security, social insurance, social benefits in all areas, we must seriously apply the principles of socialist distribution and equally so that the incomes of the workers, which ensure the maintenance of the standard of living, must be in step with the development of our homeland, with the improvement of the programme of building the socialist society, with the development of the country's economy, with the people being one of the main tasks of the government.

Dear comrades,

I also wish to refer in the need for the unflinching implementation of the laws and country planning and organization programmes. I have spoken before about the need to be successful and judiciously, rationally use the land, to protect the environment. I shall therefore direct in particular on the actively pursuing the better organization of the towns, communes and villages in our country.

About 32 per cent of the country's population lives in towns. We have vigorously developed housing and social-cultural construction. Until 1953 we were able to set in town the first 100,000 of housing for the inhabitants at all towns so that by the year 2000 every inhabitant may benefit by at least 14 sqm. of living area — 18-20 sqm. of living area with the service area which ensures and gives conditions to all citizens of our homeland.

In the rural settlements the peasantry and other village inhabitants have built houses providing good living conditions in fact. The houses have dwelling, even if this does not provide the best of conditions.

Following the 1958 territorial-administrative organization, we have secured a more rational use of land at all localities in this country. All in all we have 231 municipalities and towns, 51 of which have become towns over the last twenty years. In the rural area there are 2,300 municipalities, 2,200 of which are incorporating several villages. In the industrialization and urbanization process however there was a vigorous movement of the population from communes and villages towards cities. It is true that the development of the productive forces, over the territory, the construction of thousands of enterprises and industrial areas have slowed down the movement and been positively on the stabilization of the labour force, of the people and their families in the smaller localities, in communes and villages.

Despite all this, many villages and communes have seen a powerful depopulation process. That is why serious measures are needed for preventing the depopulation of rural settlements, for organizing them on a more rational and economic basis. It is likely to provide inhabitants with everything they need for a decent, civilized life.

We have in mind the preservation of the number of communes and in a few counties even the development of a few communes which have never been depopulated. In the next five-year plan period we wish to ensure in all communes the more powerful development of agriculture, the socialist and co-operative industry, which should provide jobs to all commune and village dwellers.

In the same time, the eight-grade educational system will be improved and the first five-year school system will be set up in all communes, so that all children may attend a ten-year school in their communes. The health-care system will be strongly developed to include dispensaries, which will also take on the role of a polyclinic, sub-health units, and a permanent number of physicians will be organized in communes, so that there may be one doctor for every 500-1,000 inhabitants, with more than 100,000 being stationed by town and county hospitals.

We must also improve the activity of the "Song to Remains" culture and creation of new houses, create conditions for the more vigorous cultural and sports activities and physical education, the popular

club work, as well as for other activities which should ensure the commune village inhabitants living conditions close as possible to those enjoyed by urban dwellers.

We plan to turn the larger communes where joint agro-industrial concerns have in operation for some 15 years, into agro-industrial centres having a town status that will have a population with 30 to 100 beds and no further, the second stage of school, thus providing conditions for the realization of 12-year education, the development of a complete range of social activities which cannot be restricted to each commune. By so doing we shall actually have a broad service about 550 acre agro-industrial centres, which will attract the agricultural population of several villages, usually a considerable number of them already be rural or genuine agro-industrial towns.

Under the law of the planning and rational use of the land we have planned that between 200 and 300 acres be provided for a house and yard in rural areas. We believe that in the future we should decide to give each citizen about 300 m<sup>2</sup> for their home, and household activities. According to the law, there is a need for a better utilization of the area to be built up by communes and the central government. The question of the legal provisions concerning the way in which the land under the construction work outside the area set aside for that purpose, for living outside the village, in their homes also future, but if they decide to build homes for themselves or their families they will have to do it only in the areas established for the construction of the citizens building their own homes with materials and designs, provided they observe the planning programme. At the same time, the state will help them with the construction of the personnel, staff and the construction of the construction workers to build homes for their own, according to the plan, draft, or will undertake financing construction to meet their needs. We already have the experience in this respect, according to the law.

Solving the question of modern housing for villages is an objective necessity arising out from the fact that socialism will give ever better living conditions to the people, and the social discrimination, we cannot stop the country — now developed towns on the one side, and small houses, shanties, on the other side.

No doubt, modern housing, in the spirit of the socialist construction of a new humanism characteristic of our country requires a longer time and must require efforts. But, we deeply believe the people with the village will be able to gradually overcome the next decade will take important steps along this line to improve the living standards of the population, to build up the conditions for production, for the working conditions closer to those in the town and to remove the essential difference between town and village. The socialist management to fulfill this historical task will be able to overcome the material and technical conditions in our homeland.

We must permanently have in mind that solving all these questions is an objective need in building up the socialist society and creating conditions for the steady and rapid development of the country and raising conditions for the people gradually advancing towards the dream — communism.

their comrades.

We have grounded our entire activity on the scientific thesis, at building socialism with the people, for the people, on the fact that everything in our society must be achieved and created for the people, ensure a continuous improvement of the standard of civilization, of the material and spiritual well-being of the whole people.

We are convinced that a wide development of the democratic forms of management, the participation of all social classes and categories, of the whole people in the management of the all branches activity, in working out the domestic and foreign policies — are the fundamental factors of successfully building the new social system.

We must have worked to improve and at the same time to strengthen the role of the state, of its bodies, in the management of economic and social activities.

It is known to have emerged at a certain stage in the development of human society, concomitantly with the emergence of classes; it has arisen and will continue to exist as a necessary condition concomitantly with the disappearance of classes.

Setting out from this materialist-dialectical theoretical position, we think that the state will long retain its role in socialist society and probably even in the early stages of communist society. Its role will be improved in the process of the economic and social development, with the general progress of society.

We have improved and we, attach equal importance to the democratic bodies of the state — the Grand National Assembly, the people's councils and all the other bodies of our socialist state.

We have achieved a widely democratic system of electing the Grand National Assembly and to the people's councils, through several nominations for one seat, made by political and social organizations, by mass organizations and by the people's councils.

These bodies' genuine pluralism and democratic character is confirmed by the deputies of the Grand National Assembly who are representatives of the working class, of the peasantry, of the intelligentsia, of all working people without any discrimination.

The elected deputies are either party members or representatives of other mass and social organizations: the Socialist Unity and Democratic Organization included.

In fact, the character of the state, of democracy is mainly defined by the reality of the people's participation in the management of the society, and it is only natural that the disappearance of the oppressing classes, of social and national inequalities changed the character of the state, which has turned into a state of the working people, of the builders of socialism in humanity, a state of revolutionary worker democracy.

By improving and democratizing the activity at mass democratic bodies, we have created new democratic organs, the working people's councils, their county and national bodies, ensuring the organized participation of all social classes and strata, of the whole people, in mapping out the home and foreign policy. The Congress of the working people in industry and other activities, attended by the whole people, the Congress of Congress of peasantry and working people in agriculture and other sectors, attended also by 11,000 delegates, are organized by the people's councils. They elect their own national legislative councils, of about 1,200-1,500 members, which manage the whole activity between congresses.

Attention should be made of the fact that at least 30 per cent of congress participants are of the members of the working people's councils or workers and peasants, respectively.

The congresses, science and instruction, and the Congress of socialist culture and education also take place every five years and are attended by about 7,000 and 5,000 delegates, respectively.

Taking into account the important role of the people's councils in local self-administration and self-sufficiency, the Congress of the people's councils is held every five years. The delegates of the people's councils; the congress is attended by 7,000 delegates who debate on the fundamental matters of local, territorial activities and also of the Legislative Chamber — the parliament of the people's councils — operating between congresses and deciding upon all laws regarding the activity of local territorial bodies, and on general laws and the socio-economic development plans.

We may rightly say that the new democratic bodies have made up a powerful system of direct democracy, ensuring a wide participation of the working class, of the peasantry, of the intelligentsia, of other social categories, of the whole people, in mapping out the general policy, all socio-economic development plans.

By acting in full accord, the people's democratic bodies and the new bodies of revolutionary worker democracy, make a wide front of the people's activity — for the people's participation, which ensures that everything in our country is achieved with the people, for the people, that the people's activity is progressing in full freedom and dignity, its golden future — communism.

In the whole work of socialist construction, the people's activity after the Party's Ninth Congress, we set out from the

(Cont. on p. 10)

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The present stagnation, the congressional even, is the communist and worker movement demand of an effective socialist revolution, the powerful determination of the spirit of struggle in defense of the broad masses' interests.

Under the present circumstances, the communist movement is assuming greater responsibility in making all realistic and progressive factors with a view to realizing a new year the great, complete and successful year. Also, the communist parties in the world are expected to provide communist answers from revolutionary socialist answers to the communist and worker movement.

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The provisions regarding socioeconomic development next year are grounded on the tasks laid down in the programmes of improving the organization

and efficiency of export trade, especially by improving goods quality and assimilating new production methods of a high technical and functional performance.

A sustained dynamism is to